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NEWSLETTER

December 1992 - January 1993

Nr. 18

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Bimestriel édité par Pax Christi International ☐ Bureau dépôt: Bruxelles X
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come perilously close to either concentration camps or instruments of oppression.

5/The blockade of the island by the PNG Government which has brought untold deaths and misery to the people of Bougainville. We believe it is a recipe for continuing bitterness.

The section calls for:

1/The restoration of full services to Bougainville.

2/The disarming of the BRA and the recall of all elements of the PNGDF.

3/The Australian Government to recall its five helicopters and other infrastructure which aids the PNGDF to pursue its current objective in Bougainville.

4/A UN-monitored process to ascertain the wishes of the Bougainville people. This process must be fair and reasonable so that a just decision can be made as to the resolving of the problem. However, we reiterate that the blockade and all such harsh methods of resolving the crisis will not work. We call on all parties to do their utmost to keep the process open for all views to be expressed.

Pax Christi Australia proposes:

1/To bring pressure to bear on the Australian government to refrain from assisting the PNG government by supplying it with arms and support systems for the PNGDF.

2/To encourage church and community organizations in Australia to join with us to change the Australian Government's attitude towards Bougainville.

The section intends:

1/To call on Pax Christi International to use its NGO status at the UN to intervene about the situation in Bougainville.

2/To organize a fact-finding mission to Bougainville composed of mainly church representatives from around the region and some people of international repute to visit the island as soon as possible.

3/To call on Pax Christi sections throughout the world to write and/or demonstrate at their local Australian Embassies complaining of Australian complicity in the Bougainville crisis.

4/To organize the usual nonviolent actions (petitions, pickets, demonstrations, etc.) to ensure that the largest numbers possible of people in Australia can be fully informed about the tragic events and the Australian government's approach to Bougainville.

5/To keep a 'watching brief' on the Bougainville issue and we will report development in Disarming Times.

National sections were asked to raise this issue in the various countries.

❑ East Timor

On 12 November 1992, Pax Christi Netherlands, together with many other organizations, sent a letter to the Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia in the Netherlands concerning the situation in East Timor:

"./. We are addressing you on a day that is sad to remember. With sorrow we still remember the actions taken by Indonesian troops against a peaceful pro-independence demonstration on 12/11/91 in Dili, East Timor. We recall the response of the Indonesian President and Government: the reports of the National Commission of Inquiry (KPN) and the Council of Military Honour; the prosecutions and convictions of nine soldiers and one policeman; the sacking of senior officers and the assignment given to general Try Sutrisno to find the bodies. These efforts, no matter how unprecedented they may have been, leave questions unanswered. We still do not know the following:

1/Who started the shooting?

2/Who were the *pasukan liar* or mysterious forces already firing when the convicted soldiers arrived on the scene?

3/In addition to the one man found guilty of slashing a demonstrator's ear with his

M-16, who beat up, stabbed and kicked the other demonstrators, leading to the hospitalization of at least 49 people whose injuries were inflicted by blunt instruments and bayonets, not bullets?

4/Who killed already wounded demonstrators at the scene?

5/Who loaded bodies on the trucks, and where were they taken?

6/Why have only 18 graves been found?

7/Who are the 66 people still listed as missing and what happened to them? Is the Indonesian government willing to take specific actions to safeguard the lives of *missing persons*? The newly appointed commander for East Timor, General Theo Syafei, only a few days after announcing that "66 people were missing," declared that as far as he was concerned, "they were all best dead?" (UPI 20.07.92).

8/What steps have been taken to investigate reports of the executions of eyewitnesses after the massacre: have reports by foreign eyewitnesses and the graphic evidence in the film *Cold Blood* (Yorkshire TV) been investigated?

The Indonesian government has repeatedly stated that it respects human rights and that the Santa Cruz massacre was an isolated incident which did not in any way reflect the policy of the government. However, government actions in the wake of the massacre create the impression that:

- those who commit human rights violations may do so with impunity;
- by failing to punish the perpetrators of the Santa Cruz massacre the government has condoned their actions;
- the exercise of basic political freedoms are not tolerated by the authorities;
- East Timorese engaged in peaceful political activity and the defense of human rights are at risk of serious human rights violations, including murder, 'disappearance', torture and arbitrary detention.

Our concerns and impressions are reinforced by the imprisonment during the last months of East Timorese being accused of belonging to 'resistance organizations'. We refer to the imprisonment of East Timorese before the conference of the Non Aligned Movement (Jakarta, September 1992), the arrests that took place to prevent a possible demonstration to commemorate the massacre of 12 November 1991 and the announcements by the government and the Indonesian Armed Forces that an Australian parliamentarian delegation was not allowed to visit East Timor mid-October, although the visit was earlier agreed on. Finally, despite a March 1992 Appeal by the UN Commission on Human Rights, the government continues to restrict or deny efforts by international organizations to monitor human rights in East Timor.

As concerned citizens of the world community, we are convinced that talks between all parties involved - including Timorese resistance groups opposing the idea of the proclaimed integration by Indonesia - under auspices of the United Nations are needed to end the conflict in East Timor. It is in the interest of all parties that an international acceptable and lasting solution be found.

We welcome the initiative of UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to invite the Indonesian and Portuguese Ministers of Foreign Affairs to reopen the talks under his auspices. We hope that the talks will be substantial. This would mean that, according to UN-resolutions, all parties will be involved in talks about the future of the territory and that measures will be taken to prevent further abuses of the fundamental rights of the East Timorese people.

We kindly ask you to communicate our concerns and the following questions to your government:

1/Would it be possible to clarify our unanswered questions, concerning the massacre in Dili on 12 November 1991, as stated in this petition?
2/Is the Indonesian government willing to release immediately those East Timorese engaged in peaceful political activity and the defence of human rights?
3/Taking into consideration that the territory of East Timor was declared 'open' by the Indonesian government in January 1989, is it possible to allow (international) human rights organizations to monitor human rights in East Timor?
4/Is the Indonesian government willing to allow East Timorese representatives (including those of resistance organizations) to take part in talks about the future of East Timor under UN auspices? ./."

CENTRAL EUROPE & BALKAN

❑ Appeal to the Dutch Government

The Dutch Pax Christi section, together with Justitia & Pax, appealed to their government on the occasion of a demonstration against the war in the former Yugoslavia:

"On Saturday 3 October 1992, a demonstration was held in Amsterdam against the ongoing war in the former Yugoslavia. Solidarity with the victims of war was a prominent theme in this demonstration. This action of resistance against the war was initiated by the peace organization Mi Za Mir, in which persons of diverse ethnic and/or religious origin from the former Yugoslavia cooperate. This cooperation, sustained in the Netherlands, is an example of hope for their relatives and former compatriots in the former Yugoslavia.

The demonstration was also an appeal to international politicians, urging them to contribute to ending the war. Conscious of the fact that it is not easy to come up with elements for a solution, and aware that one should distinguish between the short term and the long term, Pax Christi and Justitia & Pax urge the Dutch government to contribute to the following initiatives:
- A careful monitoring of the UN embargo against Serbia and Montenegro. To this end, the Security Council should deploy a patrol on the Danube to see to it that fuel and weapons do not enter Serbia from Romania.
- An escort of food convoys consisting of aircraft and armoured vehicles.
- The proclamation of a no-fly zone for military aircraft above Bosnia.
- International recognition of Macedonia, despite the Greek opposition. A UN peace force should be sent to Macedonia (and to Kosovo) in order to lessen the chances of an explosion of violence there, which could lead to an all out Balkan war.
- The convening of an international conference in which the status of Kosovo and Vojvodina is decided and in which agreements on minority rights are made.

Only when a cease-fire is ensured, will there be a climate in which the various new states into which Yugoslavia has been dissolved, can enter into conversation. This would open the perspective for a confederal cooperation, especially in the economic field. No matter the amount of efforts this will require, the international community will have to make Serbia (and the Serbians from Bosnia) give up the territories seized from the Bosnian Muslims. The intended cantonizing would mean that hundreds of thousands of Bosnian Muslims who have been driven from their homes would return. This also applies to the regions in Croatia occupied by Serbians. Acceptance of an extension of the UN mandate and

respect for the rights of Serbians can contribute to a restoration of Croatian sovereignty in these regions.

It must be noted that the 'ethnic cleansing' is also a 'religious cleansing'. This imposes a heavy responsibility on churches and religions. The extremely difficult dialogue among the various religious communities of ex-Yugoslavia must be intensified. A rapprochement between the Roman Catholic church and the various Orthodox churches in Europe would have a positive effect in the former Yugoslavia. Pax Christi will therefore strengthen its contacts with the Orthodox churches.

Pax Christi and Justitia & Pax will extend their contacts with kindred organizations from the various republics of the former Yugoslavia. Solidarity can be expressed by making visits and by taking care that the voices of the peace groups are heard within the international community. News media distancing themselves from the spreading war propaganda must be supported. An important Citizens' Peace Conference will be held in Skopje at the beginning of November 1992. Pax Christi and Justitia & Pax ask the Dutch government to assure that the support for this conference, promised by the Council of Europe, will not be blocked by Greece."

❑ Serbian Orthodox Obsessed by Threat of Islam

The Serbian Orthodox church is 'obsessed' by the threat of Islam. Not only the common person in the street, but also the church leaders have the feeling that the Arab world wants to use Bosnia-Herzegovina to create a Muslim state in Europe. Secretary Jan ter Laak of Pax Christi Netherlands was shocked when he discovered this during his visit to the former Yugoslavia. He talked with peace groups and with Roman Catholic and Serbian Orthodox clergy.

Even a moderate Orthodox bishop and one of the most important Orthodox church leaders, considers it to be his duty to warn the West about the Islamic threat, according to Ter Laak. 'Why do you not see this danger?', was what he constantly heard from bishops and clergy.

The Orthodox base their fear mainly on their contacts with the Copts and other 'brothers in faith' in the Arab world, who have had bad experiences with Islam. This fear also stems from their close relations with the Greek Orthodox church, which has a strong anti-Turkish inclination. They constantly reminded Ter Laak of the 17th century, when the Turks besieged Vienna. They find in their history justification for their current struggle. Despite some isolated critical notes, the Orthodox church is an important mainstay of the Serbian government.

The reproaches of the Serbian Orthodox against the Roman Catholic church, and against the Vatican in particular, pale before their strong fear of Islam. But their dislike of Rome has not diminished altogether. It was gratifying for Ter Laak that the Orthodox bishop asked Pax Christi International to organize a conference in the former Yugoslavia. This conference will not only facilitate Orthodox-Catholic dialogue, but will also strengthen relations between Eastern and Western Europe, and the relations with Islam. "There is an need for dialogue among the religions. The ethnic cleansing is in fact a religious cleansing, even if people do not experience it this way," says Ter Laak, referring to the fact that most Serbians are Orthodox and most Croats Catholic.

❑ Support Volunteers

In September of 1992, Pax Christi Germany together with other organizations sent volunteers to assist in refugee camps in Croatia. Some of these volunteers addressed an